1: Karsten--218-219 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 842, 821 (1928-29)

"Their ideas about conception and pregnancy are more definite. Conception according to their idea is brought about by the new moon in connection with the natural sexual intercourse. The new moon is also believed to effect the menstruation of the women, of which physiological process the Jibaros use the expression nantu weinikama, 'the moon has seen her.' The time most suited for cohabitation and conception is that falling between the 'dying' moon and the following new moon. During this time the Jibaro usually has intercourse with his wives with a view to begetting children. He is however of opinion that as a rule a woman cannot be made pregnant by one single act of sexual intercourse. Several are necessary; the new being has to be created as it were by degrees, the moon always playing the part of a promotor of the creating process. When the Jibaro has cohabited with his wife in the period between two moons, the following new moon will in some mysterious way bring about the first development of the foetus. Every following new moon, in connection with repeated cohabitation, adds a little to it until in the course of nine months the foetus is full-grown and the birth takes place.

This statement of the Jibaros must be understood to mean that the germ of the new human being comes from man, who at the sexual act simply puts it into the woman, just as a seed is sown in the earth, the new moon thereby effectively aiding in developing the foetus. This primitive view, which in South America is by no means limited to the

Jibaros (1), is of interest in so far as it explains a custom which among these Indians also occurs in a modified form, namely, the custom of couvade. If the child, at least physiologically, has its proper origin in the father, we can understand the close connection or 'sympathy' existing between the father and his newborn babe, manifesting itself in that for instance the food eaten by the former will affect the latter for good or for evil. These ideas we shall consider again in the chapter on the birth customs.

The present-day Indian is thus firmly convinced that a woman can-[219]not conceive without having intercourse with a man. But the mediator of the process of conception need not necessarily be a living man, he may also be a dead one, that is, a spirit or demon. From this point of view we may speak of a supernatural birth in regard to the Jibaros, namely, in so far as they believe that a spirit or demon can have sexual intercourse with a woman and generate a child. This belief is quite common among the Jibaros and the Indians of Canelos, as among various other tribes in Ecuador, and has influenced the customs they observe at the birth of a child and even their marriage customs, as we have seen in the case of the Canelos Indians."

"1. See my Civilization of the South American Indians, p.445 sq."

1: Karsten--245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
821, 776 (1928-29)

"After darkness sets in the Indians as a rule avoid going out, since it is dangerous to wander in the forest because of the venomous snakes, etc. The Indians also fear ghosts and evil spirits moving about at night."

1: Karsten--245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
821 (1928-29)

"If it is raining in the morning the Indian only leaves the house when it is absolutely necessary, for instance to pay a visit to another house. He generally spends rainy days doing some work at home, cutting arrows, making small combs, plaiting baskets, weaving, etc."

1: Karsten--381-382 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 821 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros moreover extend their animistic ideas to the heavenly bodies and phenomena, and to inanimate objects of nature. A Jibaro myth tells us that the sun, the moon, and the stars have once been men living on the earth, and certain magical ideas, current among most South American Indians, are held about the moon, but no traces of a real belief in a sun or moon spirit are to be found and still less of a cult of these heavenly bodies. The Indians seem to consider that they are too far off and have not enough influence upon human affairs to be worshipped. On the other hand, striking phenomena of nature which sometimes threaten their welfare, such as thunder and lightning, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, are always set down to supernatural causes. The thunder, the Jibaros say, is caused by a great number of shuara (enemies) --i.e. spirits of dead Jibaro warriors--who with such a noise are making their assaults upon the Indians. During heavy thunderstorms, therefore, the Jibaro men are seen brandishing their lances against the clouds, jumping, shouting, and challenging their invisible supernatural assailants with the same words that they shout against their natural enemies: winiti, winiti, páhei, 'may you come, I am ready!' The Jibaros therefore call the thunder shuara mányamai, or shuara ipyámwai, that is, 'the enemies are fighting'. The lightning (cháreimbi) is also an old Jibaro warrior, one of those ancestors of the Jibaro race who are called arútama and which appear to the Indian when

narcotized by tobacco, natéma, or maikoa. Among the same powerful demons figure some other striking heavenly phenomena, namely, the rainbow (tundyáka) and the meteors and comets or shooting stars, called by the common name payára ('a falling thing'). [382]

Earthquakes (urkai) are caused by powerful iguánchi in the earth, who are shaking their bodies.

Of stupendous phenomena of nature which have particularly attracted the attention of the Jibaros one more must be mentioned: it is the violent hurricane(nássi), which frequently appears in the South American virgin forests, passing over a comparatively limited area and marking its way by terrible destruction among the trees and bushes. The Jibaros ascribe the hurricane to one of their worst iguánchi, who also figures among the arútama."

1: Karsten--392 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 821 (1928-29)

"Of phenomena in the sky the rainbow (cuichi) seems to have particularly attracted the attention of the Canelos Indians. The rainbow, they fancy, is nothing but a huge anaconda (amárun) in the air, or as they generally express it, the rainbow is the 'shadow of the anaconda'. One superstition about this phenomenon is that it makes women pregnant. When the rainbow appears, therefore, the women who are in their menstrual period ought not go out lest an accident of this kind should happen to them. Especially if they are travelling and sleep alone in a hut in the forest, they are exposed to danger from the cuichi supai who has intercourse with them and makes them pregnant, the result of this cohabitation being a supai huahua, a 'demoniacal' child. This superstition in regard to the rainbow also prevails among the Indians of the Napo and is particularly held by the Quichua-speaking mountain Indians."

14 Karsten--503-504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 772, 821 (1928-29)

"Heaven is for them an immense solid vault which rests on the earth. A Jibaro myth tells us that formerly there was much communication between the heaven and the earth, people ascending to the sky along a long liana hanging from the vault and again descending to the earth. Even the heavenly bodies, the sun, the moon, and the stars, which are regarded as 'people' (eintsu) by the Jibaros, have originally lived on the earth, but at a certain epoch went up to the sky where they have remained ever since. The stars, as far as I can see, have not particularly attracted the attention of the Jibaros, and seem not to play any part [504] in their calendar. Almost the only star which appears in their mythology is the planet Venus, called Yanguái. The general name for 'star' in the Jibaro language is ya."

1: Karsten--504 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 805, 821 (1928-29)

"Time is reckoned mainly after the sun and the moon. Great attention is paid to the new moon which is supposed to have a mysterious influence in promoting both natural processes and human undertakings. Thus we have seen the [sic] the new moon is believed to cause the menstruation of the women and to influence the development of the foetus in the mother's womb. The 'dying' moon, on the other hand, has the effect of making everything decrease and die out.

As to longer periods, both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians also speak of 'years', but this division of time is not founded on astronomic calculations but on other kinds of observation. A 'year' in the Quichua language is chunta. This is the name of the important chontaruru palm (Guilielma), the fruit of which begins to ripen in the month of February. This to the Indians is so important an incident that they reckon the beginning of the year from that time. Similarly the Jibaro Indians have adopted the same Quichua word (chunta) for denoting a year."

l: Karsten--504 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 821 (1928-29)

"The ideas that the Indians entertain about meteorological phenomena such as thunder and lightning, falling stars and comets, hurricanes, etc. have appeared from the account I have given of their religion. We have also seen that a supernatural origin is ascribed to certain minerals, for instance 'lightning-stones' which are believed to have been hurled down from the heavens by ancestral spirits, lava stones thrown out from volcanoes, and especially to mountain crystals which are looked upon as proceeding from the devil-souls of departed wizards living in the mountains. Crystals are consequently reckoned among the most potent magical 'arrows' used by living sorcerers."

13: Rivet--250 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 821

When the wind blows violently, the women and children leave the huts uttering loud shouts, trying to put the wind to flight in this manner, while the men also shout at the top of their voices, encircling the posts of the house so that the gale does not upset them (1).

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 64-65.

13: Rivet--250 [3] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 821, 787

When a violent storm comes, the Jíbaros leave their dwellings with lances and shields, shouting. In the direction of the bright lightning and reverberating thunder, they threaten an invisible enemy whom they thus intend to frighten. In fact, they are sure that the tribes living in that direction are uniting in order to come and make war against them.

13: Rivet--250 [4] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 821

Father Pancheri says that a Jíbaro who passed the night at Gualaquiza in his room went out into the corridor before lying down and began to blow hard and to murmur incomprehensible words. Interrogated, he answered that he thus kept away death and the iguanchi (1).

If one throws chicha into a river, big clouds will arise on the horizon (2).

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1. Pancheri, op. cit., El Republicano, Quito paper. No. 106, February 7, 1894.
2. Bulletin salesien, February 1902, page 50.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called ***kakarma***, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam *souls* simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[17] The Jívaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*Iwar* iwančI). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact which the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jívaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the wampaŋ are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as is the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a wampaŋ flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the wampaŋ might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the wampaŋ finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the nëkás wakanI, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the arutam soul instead which seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The arutam soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly-desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal sorcery, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the arutam soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

each man in turn to describe the *arutam* that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his *arutam* leaves his body forever, to roam the forest again as a wind, for *arutam* souls "are satisfied with one killing."[8] The departing *arutam* souls reportedly generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jívaro.

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Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, usually without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new *arutam* souls, and without new *arutam* souls, they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an *arutam* again and thus to get himself a new soul.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 754 756 influence of *natemä*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

774 761 [763] The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

[821]

The Muisak[9]

774 784 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul, is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampaŋ* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampaŋ* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampaŋ* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampaŋ* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakanī*, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam* soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 177 765 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukra and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.